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SOCIALISM.

As an Educative and Social Force

ON THE

EAST SIDE.

MARY M. KINGSBURY.

BOSTON:

Office of the Secretary,
THE DIOCESAN HOUSE,

1 Joy Street.

1898.

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Francis Walter Lee,

Sept. 14, 1898.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.

Objects. 1. To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. 2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time. 3. To present CHRIST in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the Power of righteousness and love.

Membership. Any Communicant of the Episcopal Church in the United States, or of any Church in communion with it, may become a member, and any other person an associate member, on payment to the Treasurer of one dollar.

Publications. Papers on various aspects of the social question are issued monthly. No responsibility is assumed by the Union for the particular views of individual writers. It is intended to provide for the expression of different opinions. Subscriptions to the publications, one dollar per annum. Single copies, ten cents each. Special rate to members and associate members: annual dues and subscription to the publications, both at one time, strictly in advance, one dollar. The first and second series of publications may now be had complete, except one number of the first series which is out of print, for one dollar each.

Sample Copies. The Secretary will be glad to send free to any Address sample copies of the Constitution or of any of the publications which members may be able to use to advantage in securing new members or subscribers, or in arousing interest in the work of the Union.

Members are asked to secure new members or subscribers to the publications.

Address all letters and make all remittances payable to The Christian Social Union, Diocesan House, 1 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.

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SOCIALISM AS AN EDUCATIVE AND SOCIAL FORCE ON THE EAST SIDE.

MARY M. KINGSBURY.

Much has been said recently about the great natural gifts of the people of the East side.*

No one who has lived in their midst can have failed to perceive their natural love for the best, and their intention to have it. Very unlovely is this intensity of desire when applied to sordid ends, but he would be a most undiscerning onlooker who should fail to see that this intensity of emotional life and concentration of will is also very frequently directed towards the noble ends of cultivation, of devotion, of service. Strong idealism is as natural a product of an intense and desiring nature as is the accumulation of wealth.

Indeed the desire and the capacity to get on which the East side dweller so conspicuously manifests is generally exercised with a more or less spiritual end in view; the education of children, the advancement in civilization of all the members of the family.

It is the aim of this paper to give credit to a great educative force in the East side that is too often either ignored or quite misunderstood—the socialistic propaganda.

East of the Bowery and south of Fourteenth street lies a vast world. New England villages could be packed into

* See Mr. Cahan's interesting article in the July Atlantic Monthly entitled "The Russian Jews in America,"

a block. In the tenements privacy is difficult, almost impossible; cleanliness is the exception; sanitation is poor; every contaminating influence is exaggerated. How is it possible even to obey the law?

There is a law about fire escapes. No tenant shall keep anything whatever on the fire escape. It is an excellent law. If one has only the average family (5 persons) two or even three rooms are not so commodious, but that it is extremely handy to put the oilcan and the bedding, or, if one is esthetically inclined, a box of geraniums, out on the fire escape. The kitchen oil stove catches fire some day, the curtains are in flames, and down the street come tearing the fire engine and the hose and ladder. Up go the brave firemen hindered and endangered. They tear away with bare hands the window casement, and pour jets of water into the flaming tenement. Day after day, almost hour after hour, the alarm sounds and one or more tenant is burned out. What does he do? His compatriots take him in on the next floor—for poverty has its natural gentility—and soon he gets another tenement and begins to buy his furniture on the installment plan, by which he runs the risk of losing it altogether if he cannot make the last payment. Does he again put things on the fire escape? Certainly. He has to. He has no more room than before. He does not particularly desire to be a law breaker. He has to be one.

The tenant goes out to work early in the morning. His wife gets him his breakfast. The little ones are still sleeping, for they were up till twelve o'clock the night before. Hot nights are intolerable at home, one must stay in the street. It would be pleasanter to stay in the parks, but there aren't many parks to stay in. There is Tompkins square in the north, there is the Recreation pier at Third street, there is another small park on the southeast corner of the region. But the interior space is one mass of dwell-

ings. Fortunately at least two additional areas will be converted into parks within a short time.

After the father has gone to work, the mother must get the little ones off to school. Happy the baby who can get into a kindergarten where for a half a day at least there is regularity, gentleness, and peace. Meals are irregular festivals to be taken on the wing—a piece of bread when the child comes for it, a penny for fruit when outside the window some especial dainty is to be seen in the push cart below. After school is over the streets are full of boys and girls. The boys play ball and occasionally get arrested, for the natural and inevitable fruit of a lack of proper playgrounds is lawlessness and eventually crime. The little girls dance when that great benefactor, the hand-organ man, comes along.

Drive the hand-organ man away? If there were no other way of supporting him he should be maintained at the public expense. How happy are the laughing faces of these little East side maidens, and how full of grace they are, with what abandon they dance, their bright oriental eyes and waving hair all keeping time with the gay little tune.

The East side street is Central Park and Broadway, Wall street and Washington Market all in one. It is the recreation ground for children, it is the place to get the fashions and to air them, it is the place to buy and sell. Thursday is market day on Hester street. For by sundown on Friday all must be ready for the Sabbath—the day of rest. Dressgoods, crockery, potted plants, chromos, fish, vegetables, cakes—all are there in the push carts and stands ready for the passing buyers.

What is the old man thinking of as he haggles over the price of a yard of oilcloth? Perhaps of the far off dingy dirty little town in Russian Poland where he wasn't as rich as he is here, but where after all the children are brought up in the Faith, but now who can tell what will happen to

God's chosen ones? For the children eat food that is not Kosher and they pollute the Sabbath by riding on the electric cars, and instead of going to *school* they go to the library and read God knows what profane literature.

The fears of the old man are but too well founded. The assimilating process brings with it many real dangers. What steady force is there to keep demoralization from accompanying the new educational and social opportunities? For education is the great fetish of the East side. Education must be had at any price. The poorest will have it. The evening schools are crowded, societies and clubs of all sorts for mutual improvement are innumerable. Old men study English, young men are reading hard for the regents' examinations. The professions are increasingly popular on the East side. The son of the sweat shop contractor will be a lawyer or physician and the push cart vender's daughter will be a typewriter or school teacher.

This tendency, so admirable in many ways, has its serious disadvantages. It creates false values. Judgment, a kindly spirit, ethical attainments are all subordinated to "education." This chief characteristic of the East side (its intellectual alertness) is too conspicuous to have gone unnoticed. But one of the greatest truly educative forces that are at work, the teaching of socialism, has not been properly emphasized.

Socialism was originally an imported article on the East side. It came over in the early part of the century with a band of German exiles. It was in the days before Marx's "Capital" had been written and had crystalized the thought of German socialism. There were utopian schemes of all sorts, a general restlessness and discontent with no conscious philosophy at the bottom but that of denial and revolt. In those early days socialism had a more revolutionary form than now, and had indeed much in common with anarchism. Marx's influence has been profound; and gradually his

great work "Capital" has dominated the minds of his followers till the reverence felt for it is not unlike that felt by Christians for the Bible. But "Capital" is not a popular book. It is difficult reading for anybody, and is of course out of the question for the unlettered. It has been popularized, that is, the especial doctrines of nature of Value, and the law of Wages have been put into such simple forms that they can be read by everybody. A large mushroom growth of pamphlets, stories, and leaflets has arisen that claims for its authority the system of Marx. These pamphlets are printed principally in Yiddish i.e. broken German written in Hebrew characters with an admixture of Russian, Polish or Hebrew words.

The large body of Jewish immigrants from 1882 to the present time brought no socialistic doctrine with them. They found it when they got here. The early leaders in the socialistic movement, outside of the native American socialism which was transcendental in its character and practically died out, were Germans. But the Jewish immigrants have been forced by bitter experience to reflect on their situation. With a natural taste for speculation, it is easy to see how the only clear definite system which was presented to them, the system of Marx, inevitably attracted them and has had an ever growing interest. Experience colors the thought of all of us. The rich man without an unsatisfied material want is likely to look at the world from an optimistic point of view. The poor worker in an East side sweat shop cannot help but see the dark side of the picture. The want that stares him in the face he could bear with the stolid patience with which his ancestors have borne all manner of wrongs, but he cannot remain stoical when he thinks of his children and see they are debarred from the privileges that are open to others. He must take up with a view of life that has distinct hope for the future in it. And the only hopeful view that is

offered him on the East side is that of Socialism; i. e., the only hopeful view *systematically* expressed. Now, this love of system is characteristic of the East side. The economic facts are the dominant element in the situation. The best explanation that is offered is readily accepted.

The socialism of the East side is not revolutionary in its character. Revolutionists, nihilists, and anarchists are to be found dotted here and there over the map. But the general field is taken up by evolutionary socialism. An oriental half-fatalistic spirit permeates the current socialism dogma. All things are in process of change, and what will be, will be of necessity. We cannot escape the future, and the future is good. The regime of socialism itself is not the final goal of humanity. There are still larger hopes open to the human race, but we cannot yet see what they shall be.

The propagating of these views is not left to pamphlet literature alone. Its three main channels are the Yiddish press, organized labor, and public meetings. The *Abendblatt*, the Yiddish organ of the socialist labor party, and the *Vomaerts*, organ of the recently formed socialist democracy, have a wide circulation. There is also a monthly just appearing, "*Die Neue Zeit*," which will be entirely devoted to the spread of socialistic doctrine. This latter magazine, as well as both the daily papers referred to, is conducted by men of university training. Public meetings are always packed, no matter how late they last. The East sider loves to talk, and he is even willing to hear others if he can get a chance himself to speak. At a recent meeting in the Windsor Theatre where a socialist from the West was advertised as the principal speaker of the evening, the exercises continued from eight till quarter of twelve before the distinguished friend from Chicago had a chance to utter a word. We must have our money's worth, humorously whispered one of the audience.

Organized labor, still in a most chaotic condition on the

East side, fairly undisciplined and divided into different camps, is, however, thoroughly impregnated with socialistic doctrine.

One of the characteristics of East side socialism is the lack of harmony that exists among various factions and parties. Here is socialism without socialization: socialism in thought, anarchism in action.

The bitterness that exists between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Democracy is very great. The former represents socialist orthodoxy. Persons who do not hold to every jot and tittle of the accepted dogma are expelled from the party as being traitors and dangerous to the purity of the faith. The Socialist Labor Party further is on general principles quite opposed to the undertaking of any practical social reform. It regards all such efforts as being of such small account compared with the great end desired that it isn't worth while working for them. It regards the only truly practical reforming measure to be the building up of a strong political party which shall gradually acquire enough influence to accomplish the bringing in of the socialistic state. The Socialist Democracy, on the other hand, believes that all persons should unite for practical reforms which lead in a socialistic direction regardless of minor differences.

The Hebrew is an individualist. Economic difficulties and reflections upon them have led many of these immigrants to the acceptance of socialist doctrine. But an individualist he psychologically remains. Bickerings, debates, and differences that exist in the ranks of those who if they should do anything should certainly unite in action are most unfortunate. The thrilling words of Marx, "Proletarier aller Laender, vereinigt euch!" are too often forgotten in the violence with which hairs are split.

But notwithstanding all the criticism is that can be alleged against the development of socialism on the East side—its

petty bickerings, its lack of harmony, its frequently paralyzing effect on all measures of practical reform—its educative force is enormous. Next to the public schools the socialist movement is the greatest educative force on the East side. The various institutes, settlements, etc., are doing excellent work. They are endeavoring along various lines to assimilate all these foreign peoples and to make out of them Americans who shall adorn the name and themselves be proud of it. But good as is the work done by all these various agencies, it cannot but be largely from the outside. The socialist movement is a steady growth from the inside. Not to recognize the part it plays is wholly to misunderstand the situation.

Let us see exactly what socialism on the East side is as a social force. And first it is to be clearly noted that socialism as a theory is not here to be discussed; but rather socialism as an actual educative and social force. We may thus broadly speak of it:

1. As a means for spreading general information.
2. As a teacher of observation.
3. As a bond between members of the family.
4. As a generally socializing agency.

1. The ardent socialist like the ardent Christian cannot keep his gospel to himself. It is the mark of true conviction to spread the faith. And socialism is, in actual experience, rather a theory of life than a set of special economic doctrines. When any one has gained for himself a unified view of life; all the facts of history and of experience naturally circle about that unified view as a pivot. To be sure a view which is held dogmatically, and not tentatively, is likely to lead to intellectual distortions. If history has to be interpreted to match preconceived opinions, history will be seen in a colored light. But there is no such thing in real life as the perfectly unbiased mind, and the understanding of history and of experience are certainly not to be attained

by a blank mind unspotted by any theory whatever. History and life are not exact sciences; and their best interpreters have always been those who brought the most disciplined minds to their task. To be objective and yet not mentally colorless, is to attain to the very pinnacle of human criticism. Certainly it is not to be expected from the poor students of the East side. The young disciples of socialism then, it must be admitted, do not bring minds free from preconceptions to the task of solving the great questions of human history and experience. Their ardor is so great, their thirst so intense that they are bound to prove their thesis from every point of view. All history must minister to it. The study of institutions and of law must help prove it. And therefore there is an unusual avidity occasioned by a taste of socialistic doctrine which very naturally leads to the study of great fields of knowledge which might otherwise have remained an unknown quantity. Little groups of students all over the East side are studying economic history; the history of the development of modern classics; the change in the institutions of the family, or the state.

2. Much weight is laid upon the expression "class conscience." However distorted may be the views of society at large attained by people whose experiences are unfortunately limited, this emphasis on the necessity for seeing and recognizing the situation, is manly and desirable. To know how one lives is itself the precursor of a change in the conditions in which one lives. It is one of the greatest of those psychological factors which assist in betterment.

This "class consciousness" when devoid of cant signifies the necessity of looking the situation in the face. It compares conditions, observes the present status, and must lead to a vigorous discontent which if properly directed looks toward the future with determination and resolution.

3. One of the most dramatic situations in the Ghelto, that home of pathos and drama, is the separation that so often

arises between the members of different generations in the same family. The general breaking up of the Jewish Faith is largely responsible for this state of affairs. All the ancient beautiful customs of the good old patriarchs, their touching faith and serenity under adversity are foreign to the young Americans who are their children. Often grandparent and grandchild cannot so much as speak the same language. A more dramatic break than that which so often takes place can hardly be imagined. The children are impatient under sabbatical and other restrictions which they regard as superfluous and of which to tell the truth many of them are crudely ashamed.

There is no difficulty about assimilating these foreigners. They assimilate themselves with great rapidity. They tend to become just like the children born of parents of other races and nationalities. They take to "pleasure clubs" and "debating societies" and follow the customs of the region in which they find themselves. They read Yiddish, not all of them, but regard English as their language. The forces that bind children to their parents under such circumstances are indeed slight. The situation is too often strained. Socialism of course does not prove a conserving force where it is held by the child alone, but where father and child are both socialists, the unlovely sight of a dismembered family is not exhibited; the family bond is secure.

A very highly cultivated young socialist recently defended the agitation that is carried on in Yiddish on this very ground. He spoke of the dissensions that so frequently arise in families from serious differences in general points of view. He deplored this evil and was of the opinion that only when the older generation can be converted to the ways of thinking of the younger can the family relation remain one of harmony. Jewish orthodoxy is fast being undermined; an attempt to bring harmony into the home by the introduction of any other religious or ethical point of

view has not been seriously made. And if it were made, there would of course be no prospect of alienating the older generation from their fixed habits of thought. But when a new philosophy of life, and such rather than an economic system is socialism, is presented which is or appears to be in accord with both the present conditions of existence and natural aspirations for the future, there is a fairly good prospect of its acceptance. The socialistic propaganda in Yiddish then must be regarded as a measure intended to bridge over the chasm between the past and the future. From this point of view the Yiddish press is not reactionary, it is only conservative.

4. The value of socialistic teaching as a generally socializing force on the East side is also underestimated. While the Jew talks socialistically he acts individualistically. Yet in the long run, dogma must tell on action. Accustomed to look out for himself, and that "himself" let it be remembered to his credit is generally a family unit, and to further his own prospects he is none too prone to have a widely human outlook. The reason he has been shut off so largely from the world round about him is as much due to his psychological individualism and exclusiveness as it is to the prejudice and dislike he meets. Social materialism may be only a grander selfishness, but it emphasizes the necessity of co-operation and joint action.

That socialistic leader in the East side will be of the greatest service to the development of his brothers who shows them that no man can live unto himself alone, and that in mutual trust, confidence and service lies their social salvation.

The socialist movement is one that the "reformer" ought not to discount, but rather utilize. If the reformer would but see that the whole process is evolutionary he would stop cavilling at the crudities, absurdities and intellectual deficiencies of any great human movement, and would en-

deavor to infuse into that movement whatever he believed to be of fundamental importance.

The socialist movement in all our great cities lags behind the movement as it exists in England or in Germany. In both those countries the definitions of socialism are undergoing a rapid change. Too little attention has been paid to the extraordinary recent utterances of the German socialist leaders as they have appeared in their official organs. The emphasis has been entirely reshifted. The materialistic philosophy of history of Marx has been practically abandoned, and a reconstruction is going on towards what in the United States is so thoroughly despised by the orthodox socialists, i. e., social reform. These foreign socialist leaders, both German and English, have in end the regeneration of society, but they realize how slow their process is, and that it must go on step by step. This attitude of mind is not yet common among the East side socialists. The introduction of this idea and the insistence upon it would be a great step in advance.

In conclusion then we must admit that the defects of the socialistic movement in New York are glaring; that too often it is accompanied by conceit, egoism, and also, what the limits of this paper forbid enlarging upon, by a disregard for the institution of the family and by a none too patriotic attitude toward the state. In other words, the idea of responsibility is deeply lacking. On the other hand, the socialistic propaganda has served to increase general information; to arouse a consciousness of present conditions; to create a bond between different generations of the same family; to give a kind of religion and ideal to those who would otherwise be without any deep philosophy of life; to render people thoughtful rather than pleasure seeking; and to form a basis for further socialization.

NOTES FOR OUR READERS.

The responsibility of the buyer of goods toward the man or woman making or selling these goods is today acknowledged by the student of Economics. The consumer is in fact the one who sets the standard of production and distribution. That this standard shall be one whereby the producer can earn a living wage under wholesome conditions is the aim of the Consumers' Leagues which are being formed in several cities in this country. Delegates from the Leagues of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Syracuse met in conference in New York, at the Calvary Parish House, on May 16 and 17. A report from each league was given. In New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia a "white list" has been issued giving the names of the retail dry goods shops maintaining good conditions for their employees. In Boston no "white list" has been attempted. The aim of the League has been, rather, to devise some method to improve conditions of manufacturing "ready-made" clothing,—to prevent, or lessen the evils of low wages, long hours and unhealthy surroundings in sweat-shop and factory. In Chicago and Syracuse the Leagues are not yet actively working, although the interest is keen.

The result of the New York Conference was a general desire to draw together if possible to form a National League with the aim of adopting a Consumers' Label which would guarantee the goods so labeled to be made under just and wholesome conditions.

The desire to work with the Trades Unions and in no sense to injure the use of the Trade Union Label was expressed by all. A representative Trade Unionist present said that he thought the Trade Union Label could work up from the cheaper line of goods and the Consumers' Label

work down from the more expensive, and thus these labels could supplement and assist each other.

A public meeting on Tuesday Evening, May 18, brought together a large audience. Mrs. Nathan, President of the N. Y. League, presided. Mrs. Florence Kelley, Prof. Seligman and Col. Waring addressed the meeting, and the presidents of the Philadelphia, Boston and Syracuse leagues spoke briefly.

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CHURCH PRINTING.

In January and February, 1898, the Executive Committee wrote to the Secretary of each Diocese in the United States and to a large number of religious newspapers in the United States and Canada, asking them to aid in making a public and emphatic recognition of the right and duty of the Church to lead consumers to the fulfilment of their obligations to producers, by publishing a certificate of the conditions under which the printing of the Diocesan Journal or of the newspaper was done. The Committee, without intending to propose any definite standard, and knowing that in some places a lower standard than in others is all that can reasonably be required, suggested as a model the Resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts providing that the contract for State printing be based on a working day of nine hours, and equal pay for equal work performed by men and women, at such rates as the State Committee on the matter should decide to be equitable between employer and employed. In No. 44 of our Publications, the Committee asked from the members of the Union their opinions as to the plan and their help in promoting it. We regret to say that the experiment has not been altogether successful. So far as it has failed, the Committee feel that the failure has shown the need of the effort, and we therefore ask your personal and active help.

Possibly the seeming novelty of the proposition and the lack of general knowledge of what the Christian Social Union is have been greater obstacles than we expected. It did not seem to us necessary to go into much explanation

about the Union, for it is not ambitious. It has no desire to perpetuate or aggrandize itself, and it looks only to the day when the Church shall officially take over the work the Union is trying to do. Its principles are stated on the second page of the cover of this pamphlet, and we are sure that every earnest Christian will at once recognize their soundness and their entire harmony with the teaching of the Church.

And the novelty of the proposition is only seeming. Probably the greater number of the men who voted against this suggestion in the Diocesan Conventions have always been careful to follow its principle in their own affairs. We are sure that there are very few of them who would not go further and even gladly suffer personal loss, if it were needed, to ensure the fair and just treatment of those whom they employ. It was only that they did not recognize that what they have always seen to be their own duty as individual members of the Church must also be the duty of the Church in its official capacity. What they recognize they themselves must do because it is righteous and just, must be done by the Divinely commissioned Herald of righteousness and justice. So there is nothing radical or startling in the suggestion, and we believe it to be a practicable and easy method for the Church to establish an important principle and to make clear its claim to authority over practical matters; and therefore we attempt to present in detail some answers to the objections that have been made to it.

So far as we have had reports, the proposition has failed in Diocesan Conventions for the following reasons:—

1. Indifference.
2. The fear of making mistakes.
3. The theory that the Church stands and has always stood for right and fair dealing, and does not need to make any declaration of its position.
4. The feeling that it was unnecessary, the printing of

the Church being already done in humane and just shops.

5. The idea that it is the duty of the Church to denounce abuses rather than to commend righteousness.

6. The fear that this was only a first step toward committing the Church and its members to full responsibility for the conditions of all labor employed by it or them; for example, as was said in one Diocese, of makers of clothes, in another of butchers and bakers. Another attempted *reductio ad absurdum* was the suggestion that we might as well ask that each copy of the Bible should bear a certificate that it was printed under fair conditions.

7. The fear that the suggestion was made in the interest of Trade Unionism.

We can not argue here with those who are indifferent as to the duty of the Church toward social and industrial problems. We believe that the Church is God's Agent, commissioned to bring all men to Him by setting up in the sight of all the earth His Kingdom of Peace and Righteousness and Love, and that the Gospel of Christ and the teaching of all the prophets and apostles from Moses down to the last Lambeth Conference have the closest and most direct and practical bearing on those problems, pressing them upon the Church and its members for immediate, practical and personal solution. If this be so, the Church must not be deterred from its duty by the fear of mistake, nor may it rest content with the mere self-consciousness that it stands for fair dealing. It is bound to the most active and anxious care that its members, clerical and lay, shall give their best attention to social questions in order that the position of the Church shall be right and shall be so proclaimed to every human being that every man may recognize its Divine Commission. By its fruits men shall know the Church. It must set itself on a hill so that its light cannot be hid. It is the light of the world, and it must not put that light under a bushel, but must let it so shine before men that

they may see its good works and glorify our Father which is in heaven.

The Church, if she were to put forward the fear of making mistakes would in reality accuse herself of cowardice or sloth. God has given her this work to do, and she must do it, earnestly, faithfully, prayerfully. If the Church had been afraid of making mistakes, Christianity would never have survived Our Lord's Ascension.

It is said that the average Churchman is not equipped for dealing with intricate questions of economics. But the answer is plain that he ought to be, and that if the questions are too intricate for his intelligence the Church must demand the help of the best minds in her fold.

It is largely, though perhaps more or less unconsciously, through the influence of the Church that our Schools and Colleges are studying economics so diligently and teaching, of late years especially, the duty of each man to his fellow in their industrial relations. The time is ripe for the Church openly to assume the leadership. The economics which are well taught in school or college can be better taught in the Theological School, for the ground of all interest in social questions is found in the Incarnation and the Unity of the Church. As for practical knowledge of business matters, the Church has it at her command. Multitudes of able and experienced business men will place their knowledge at her disposal, as soon as the Church convinces them that she is bound to deal with practical and vital questions. They have not volunteered, because the Church has made no call.

Then, too, the Church must bring all men to the Kingdom, but multitudes of men are indifferent to the Church because they see no evidence that it stands for right and fair dealing, and they do not believe that it does so in any practical degree.

Other multitudes have strayed away from the one fold because the Church by its indifference or by its self-content

has obscured the Divine purpose of one definite, visible Kingdom of Righteousness, and they think the Divine purpose of unity can be as well served by rival and conflicting sects. The Church must seek after these men in the highways and hedges, and patiently and lovingly compel them to come into the fold where God means that all wrongs shall be righted by all men being made one Body in Christ.

As to the fourth and fifth reasons, if it be true, which we doubt, that the shops which do the printing of the Church are always humane and just, surely the Church ought not to hesitate to encourage them and others in well doing by public commendation. Men have lost their fear of the Church, they no longer stand in awe of its denunciations; but no business man can afford to disregard public opinion. If the public demand a certain article or require that certain conditions shall be observed in the shops, the shopkeepers must comply, or the public will go to their competitors. The Church must lead that public opinion by Christ's law of Love, and not by denunciation.

As to the objection that this is but a first step, little need be said. Of course it is only a first step. If it is right, as we believe it is, the Church must take it, and take every succeeding step till it reaches the position Christ marked out for it. And so as to Trade Unionism. If this step is right, the Church must take it whether it helps or hurts Trade Unions. But in fact the suggestion made by the Committee was carefully guarded against any dealing with the question of Trade Unionism. We asked only that the conditions should be stated publicly, and that they be "at least as favorable to the employees as those observed by the first class firms in the City," not anywhere in the country, but where the printing is done. The Church can hardly refuse to require the observance of conditions so fair and reasonable that they have been adopted as the standard by first class firms. If the demands of the Trade Unions are

reasonable and fair the Church must accede to them, while if and so far as they are unjust and unreasonable it is the duty of the Church to oppose them, and the Christian Social Union will not hesitate to urge such opposition. In fact, one of its earliest, as one of its best, publications was the impartial statement of the problems raised by the demands of the Trade Unions in the Railroad Strike of 1894 (Series B, No. 1).

As regards the religious press, other considerations also apply. The publisher of a religious paper is seeking to advance beliefs or opinions which he thinks important, or to make money by supplying the demand for religious news. So far as he seeks only to benefit the world by establishing beliefs which will lead it to a fuller righteousness, his readers may fairly insist that he must not neglect a matter of the law certainly as weighty as those he advocates. So far as he is seeking only profit for himself, his customers, that is those who buy his paper, are entitled to demand of him an article produced under fair and just conditions, and they may rightfully declare that they will buy only those papers which are produced under such conditions. They can with equal propriety demand that neither their papers nor their clothes shall bear the taint of unfair conditions. If a paper's conditions are fair, it will not hesitate to let it be known, if its subscribers ask for the information. If unfair, it will soon realize that its interests compel it to comply with the public desire for righteousness.

In this connection the Committee desire to admit that their suggestion that the certificate as to the conditions under which the paper is printed should be kept standing in each issue was not, perhaps, practicable. A certain amount of repetition is obviously desirable to attract attention, and to ensure that a paper which has a fair standard has continued to observe it. The statement of the duration of the contract made for printing, with an occasional repe-

tition of the certificate, especially when a new contract is made, would be all that we should reasonably ask.

The historic Creeds state the doctrines from which flow the right and duty of the Church as to the practical settlement of social questions. The Fatherhood of God, the equality and brotherhood of all men in and through Christ, the presence of the Holy Spirit in the one, definite, historic Church compel that Church to take up these matters, and to try continually to bring into concrete and detailed form the message given it to proclaim. Nothing is too great, nothing too small, to be outside the function of the Church which is the Kingdom of God.

So far as this matter of printing is concerned, it is believed that the duty of the Church and the individual Christian is stated, though imperfectly, in the following propositions:

1. The consumer is bound to see that the persons employed in producing the articles he consumes receive such wages and work only such hours and under such sanitary conditions as shall enable them to live in health, decency and comfort, to give their children suitable religious and secular education and to make some provision for old age and sickness.

2. The purchaser must pay a fair price, that is, one which shall give the seller a fair and reasonable profit and shall also enable him to fulfil his obligations as an employer.

3. Purchasers ought to investigate the conditions of the production and distribution of the goods they buy and to encourage fairness and humanity by buying only of sellers who fulfil their obligations as employers.

4. The Church, whether National, Diocesan or Parochial, must recognize that it is under the obligations of the individual consumer and employer.

We should be glad to have your opinion as to these

propositions and any suggestions you can make as to their amendment.

The Committee believe that this matter of printing is a good place to begin at. Its justice is manifest, so that it need not alarm the conservative impulse which hesitates to do anything, lest a mistake be made. It is public, for along with every official utterance of the Church will go the public declaration and proof that the Church accepts to their full extent the teachings of its Master. Sermons and religious editorials will be seen to be full of real and vital meaning. The compositor who sets up the type of the Sermon on the Mount and the man who reads it will be moved to accept the Church, for they will see that the Church which publishes the Bible intends to be guided by it in practical life.

It is a method which can be universally adopted, for the whole Church and every part of the Church has official printing. The National or Diocesan Church does not employ garment makers or bakers or carpenters, but it does employ printers, and by its anxious care of their interests, coupled with a due regard for the fair profit of the master printer, it can teach to all its members the law that they must deal righteously with all who serve them in any way.

It is a thing which can be undertaken easily and quickly, for most of the printing in question is already fairly done, and nothing but the public statement of that fact is needed.

Perhaps it is well to add that the plan proposed is a direct encouragement to the most desirable kind of competition. The shop which can offer the best conditions to its labor is that whose business management is most intelligent and thrifty, and whose labor is most industrious and efficient. Church printing is often given to a particular firm because one or more of its members are Churchmen. We propose that the Church shall say to them that they must be more than merely Churchmen for revenue only, and that they must

take into their every day business the principles the Church is commissioned to establish. And we submit that if the Church gives its patronage to the shops where the conditions of labor are the fairest, it will be a deserved reward to the Christianity and successful business management of the employer, and a direct incentive to increased industry and efficiency among the employed.

The matter will be presented to the next General Convention. If you are a delegate, will you write and tell us whether you are prepared to vote for it, and induce the other delegates from your Diocese to do the same, or if not, why not, or what suggestions have you to make?

The only Dioceses from which we have as yet heard as having adopted the suggestion as to the printing of its Journal are Southern Virginia and Southern Ohio, though there are others from which we hope soon to hear. If you are a member of some Diocese which has not yet had its Annual Convention or Council, will you write and tell us what you can and will do to secure a suitable declaration from your Diocese? Please also report promptly the result of your efforts.

If your Diocese has already failed or refused to move in the matter, will you find out and write us where its official printing is done and on what terms?

Will you give us the same information as to your Diocesan and Parish papers, if any?

The SPIRIT OF MISSIONS, the YOUNG CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, and the QUARTERLY MESSAGE, which are the official organs of the National Church, are all printed in one shop, under a three years' contract, and a certificate of its conditions was printed in the SPIRIT OF MISSIONS for March, 1898, and therefore no further inquiry need be made as to them, and so of the following other papers: THE CHURCH MILITANT, of the Diocese of Washington (March, 1898); MY NEIGHBOUR, Boston (March, 1898); ST. ANDREW'S

CROSS (March and July, 1898; THE CHRISTIAN MIRROR, Portland, Me. (Feb. 12, 1898); THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR WORLD (April 28, 1898); THE TRINITY RECORD, Columbus, Ohio (May, 1898).

THE CHURCHMAN is printed in the same shop as the SPIRIT OF MISSIONS, and therefore under the same conditions.

If you subscribe to any religious paper or magazine other than one of the above, will you write and urge it to adopt the plan, and report to us when it has done so? If it refuses, will you investigate the conditions under which it is printed and report to us?

Please write to us any suggestions that occur to you about the matter.

In 1891 the Diocese of New York adopted the following:

“Resolved, That in the printing of the Journal of the Convention, the work shall be given to firms paying not less than the standard rate of wages current in the trade.”

We append the form of certificate suggested by the Committee, the Resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and two forms of resolutions defeated in Diocesan Conventions, regretting that we have not yet received copies of the Resolutions adopted in Southern Ohio and Southern Virginia.

We certify that in the printing, binding and publishing of this paper, the working time is hours a day (or hours a week), which is no longer than that generally required by the first-class firms in this city, that the rate of wages, both for men and women, is as high as is paid by the first-class firms in this city, and proper provision is made for the health, safety and comfort of the employees.

RESOLVES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE OF 1897, CHAPTER 66.

RESOLVE RELATIVE TO THE STATE PRINTING.

Resolved, That the chairman of the Committee on Print-

ing on the part of the Senate, the chairman of the said committee on the part of the House of Representatives, the secretary, the treasurer, and the auditor of the Commonwealth, the clerk of the Senate, and the clerk of the House of Representatives, are directed to advertise for proposals for the execution of all the printing for the several departments of the government of the Commonwealth, except office stationery and blank books, for a term of three or five years from the first day of July in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-seven. They shall take into consideration the circumstances and facilities of the several bidders for the work as well as the terms offered; they may reject any bids received, and they shall award the contract, to be based upon a working day of nine hours and equal pay for equal work performed by men and women, at such rates as they shall decide to be equitable between employer and employed, and to such bidder as in their judgment the interests of the Commonwealth may require; and they shall execute such contract in the name and behalf of the Commonwealth. Bonds satisfactory to the said officers, to an amount not less than ten thousand dollars, shall be given by the party to whom such contract is awarded, for the faithful performance of the contract.

Approved, May 10, 1897.

Resolved, That in arranging for the printing of the Journal the contract be made only with such printers as shall certify that in the printing, binding and publishing of the Journal the working time is no longer than that which is required by the first-class firms in this city, the rate of wages for both men and women is as high as is paid by the first-class firms in this city, and proper provision is made for the health, safety and comfort of the employees.

Resolved, That this Convention takes pleasure in certifying that the firm now, and for some years past, printers of the Journal, meets the requirements above named.

Believing that the Church is God's agent, commissioned to bring all men to Him by setting up in the sight of all the earth His Kingdom of Peace and Righteousness and Love,

and recognizing the principle, laid down in accordance with that belief by the Bishops of the Church in the last Lambeth Conference, of the responsibility of the person who employs labor or causes it to be employed for the conditions under which the labor works, and desiring to make a public and practical declaration that the Church in this Diocese will continue a course which we believe it has always pursued;

VOTED, that the Secretary of the Convention and the Editor of the be hereby directed in providing for Diocesan printing to contract therefor with the shop which, with due regard for its reasonable profit as employer, offers the most favorable conditions to its employees as regards hours of labor, rates of wages for women as well as for men, and the sanitary conditions of its premises, and to print in the Convention Journal and in the as detailed a statement as is practicable of all those conditions, and further

Resolved, That each Parish and each member of the Church is urged to adopt the same principle with regard not only to printing but to all other work.

The Christian Social Union will hold a public meeting in the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, on the evening of Sunday, October 9. The Bishop of Washington will preside, and addresses will be made by the Bishop of Central New York, the Rev. W. D. Maxom, D. D., and the Hon. Rathbone Gardner, on the Social Duty of the Church, the Parish Priest and the Laity.

PUBLICATIONS.

The following have appeared in the Publications of the Union.
They may be had from the Secretary at ten cents each.

FIRST SERIES.

(April, 1895, to May, 1896).

Series A.

- THE CHURCH OF THE WORLD.
Rev. R. A. Holland, S. T. D.
- THE CHURCH'S DUTY IN RELATION
TO THE SACREDNESS OF PROPERTY.
Rev. Prof. W. Cunningham, D. D.
- SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE CHURCH.
Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, S. T. D.
Out of Print.
- THE INCARNATION, A REVELATION
OF HUMAN DUTIES.
Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott, D. D.
- RIGHTS AND DUTIES.
Extracts from Joseph Mazzini.
- WHAT THE CHURCH SOCIAL UNION
Is.
- THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE EARLY
FATHERS. (Two Views.)
Revs. C. L. Marson and W. F. Cobb.
- THE CHURCH'S OPPORTUNITY IN THE
CITY TO-DAY.
Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D. D.
- PRESENT ASPECT OF THE CHURCH
SOCIAL UNION.
Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington.
- SOCIALISM AND SPIRITUAL PROGRESS.
Miss Vida D. Scudder.
- THE SPIRIT AND WORK OF THE
EARLY CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS.
Rev. C. H. Brent.
- THE ECONOMICS OF IMPROVED
HOUSING.
Prof. E. R. L. Gould.

Series B.

- THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1894.
Prof. W. J. Ashley, M. A.
- AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS OF OUR TIME.
Prof. Henry C. Adams, Ph. D.
- ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.
Rev. W. D. P. Bliss.
- POLITICAL, ECONOMY AND PRACTICAL
LIFE.
Rev. Prof. W. Cunningham, D. D.
- STRIKES.
Rev. Prof. W. Cunningham, D. D.
- A PLAN OF WORK.
- THE SLUMS OF GREAT CITIES.
Rev. P. W. Sprague
- INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION AND CON-
CILIATION.
Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell.
- LEGALITY AND PROPRIETY OF LABOR
ORGANIZATIONS. Suggestions by
the Attorney General of the United
States in *Platt v. P. & R. R. R.*
- AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS.
Rev. W. D. P. Bliss.
- REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COM-
MITTEE OF THE CHURCH SOCIAL
UNION.
- THE CHRISTIAN LAW.
Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott, D. D.

SECOND SERIES.
(May 1896 to May 1897.)

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| No. 25. POVERTY AND ITS CAUSES,
Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. | No. 32. IS THERE A SOCIAL QUESTION—FOR AMERICA?
Rev. Henry S. Nash, D. D. |
| No. 26. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.
Rev. F. D. Maurice. | No. 33. THE ECONOMICS OF DEVOTION.
Rev. Charles Ferguson. |
| No. 27. WHAT ONE PARISH IS DOING FOR SOCIAL REFORM.
Rev. J. P. Peters, D. D. | No. 34. THE MODIFICATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY ITS CONTACT WITH THE WORLD.
Prof. E. P. Gould. |
| No. 28. SETTLEMENTS AND THE CHURCH'S DUTY.
Ellen Gates Starr. | No. 35. SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS AND THE POWER OF THE CHURCH TO PROCLAIM IT.
Mr. Rathbone Gardner. |
| No. 29. REPORT ON THE QUESTIONS DRAWN UP BY PRESENT RESIDENTS IN OUR COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS. | No. 36. THE SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY.
Rev. James Yeames. |
| No. 30. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIAL UNION.
Rev. George Hodges, D. D. | |
| No. 31. THE WORK OF THE PROSPECT UNION.
Rev. Robert E. Ely. | |

THIRD SERIES.
(May 1897 to Date.)

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| No. 37. A LAWYER'S VIEW OF THE FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH.
Robert H. Gardiner. | No. 42. RECENT ENGLISH LEGISLATION AND SOME RECENT DECISIONS OF AMERICAN COURTS ON THE LIABILITY OF EMPLOYERS. |
| No. 38. THE RIGHTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION.
Mrs. C. R. Lowell. | No. 43. SUGGESTIONS FOR WORK. |
| No. 39. THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS.
Robert A. Wood. | No. 44. THE SOCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF A COUNTRY TOWN.
Laura E. Richards. |
| No. 40. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES.
Robert Treat Paine. | No. 45. PRISON REFORM IN MASSACHUSETTS.
Rev. Frederick B. Allen. |
| No. 41. TWO NOTABLE REPORTS OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE. | No. 46. CONSUMERS' LEAGUES.
Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell. |

These Publications are issued with the general approval of the Executive Committee; but no responsibility is assumed for the particular views of individual writers. It is intended to provide for the expression of divergent opinions.

All letters should be addressed to

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION,

1 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.



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The Duty of the Christian Minister in
Relation to Social Problems.

PRIZE ESSAY

Of the Christian Social Union's
Competition, 1898.

—BY—

“DEO DUCE.”

BOSTON:
Office of the Secretary,
THE DIOCESAN HOUSE,
1 Joy Street.

1898.

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June 24-1899

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.

Objects. 1. To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. 2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time. 3. To present CHRIST in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the Power of righteousness and love.

Membership. Any Communicant of the Episcopal Church in the United States, or of any Church in communion with it, may become a member, and any other person an associate member, on payment to the Treasurer of one dollar.

Publications. Papers on various aspects of the social question are issued monthly. No responsibility is assumed by the Union for the particular views of individual writers. It is intended to provide for the expression of different opinions. Subscriptions to the publications, one dollar per annum. Single copies, ten cents each. Special rate to members and associate members: annual dues and subscription to the publications, both at one time, strictly in advance, one dollar. The first and second series of publications may now be had complete, except one number of the first series which is out of print, for one dollar each.

Sample Copies. The Secretary will be glad to send free to any Address sample copies of the Constitution or of any of the publications which members may be able to use to advantage in securing new members or subscribers, or in arousing interest in the work of the Union.

Members are asked to secure new members or subscribers to the publications.

Address all letters and make all remittances payable to The Christian Social Union, Diocesan House, 1 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.



NOTICE.

No one can read the following paper without feeling that every Christian minister, and earnest layman of the Church, has a duty to try to understand the Social Problems of the day, and to do what he can to solve them.

The Christian Social Union exists for the express purpose of trying to do this by the intelligent co-operation of Christian people. (See page 2.)

As this paper comes to the members of the Union, it should suggest that one simple yet very effective way of co-operating with the Union is by gaining new members that more may study and work together.

As it comes to those who are not yet members, it plainly suggests a plea to examine the principles, objects and work of the Union, and an earnest appeal to join the Union in its study and work.

PRIZE ESSAY.

In December, 1897, the Christian Social Union issued the following circular, copies of which were sent to all the leading Theological Schools of the United States and Canada:

The Christian Social Union offers to Theological Students two prizes, the first prize of \$100, the second prize of \$50, for the best and second-best original essays on "The Duty of a Christian Minister in Relation to Social Problems,"—subject to the following conditions:

(1) The writer of the essay must, with his essay, submit good and sufficient proof that he is a student in good and regular standing in some Theological School or Seminary.

(2) The essay must be type-written, and not less than 10,000 nor more than 20,000 words. It must be in the hands of the Committee on Prizes on or before April 20th, 1898.

(3) The essay must not be signed by the name of the writer, nor in any way indicate to what institution of learning the writer belongs. With the essay, signed by the *nom de plume* of the writer, must be sent the writer's full name, and address, the name of the institution of which he is a member, and the *nom de plume* used in the essay. This will be kept by the Committee till the decision of the judges is made.

(4) The essays which shall receive the prizes shall be the property of the Christian Social Union, and will be published by them, 50 copies of the same being sent to the writers.

(5) So far as possible the manuscripts of all essays will be returned to the writers, but the Committee are in no way to be held responsible for the return of manuscripts.

(6) The Christian Social Union reserves the right to refuse to award the prizes if in the opinion of the judges no essays shall be of sufficient merit to deserve them.

The Judges are: The Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York; Professor W. J. Ashley, of Harvard University, and Mr. Silas McBee.

In response to this circular a number of essays were received and referred to the appointed judges, who have unanimously awarded the first prize of \$100 to the essay signed by "Deo Duce," but have considered it inexpedient to award the second prize. On opening the sealed envelope, it has been found that the writer of the essay signed "Deo Duce" is Mr. John Howard Melish, of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.

THE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER IN RELATION TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

God has a purpose for every man whom he sends into this world. Each man is to grow into the full knowledge of himself as he is related to man and to the Eternal. At his birth man is a son of man and a son of God; at his death, if he has fulfilled the purpose of his being, he knows himself to be a son of man and a son of God.

The knowledge of sonship is attained through relations with man and with God. Silently and unconsciously the life of the child unfolds in response to the love of his parents. Trust creates trustworthiness, love awakens love, until there dawns in the child's mind the fact of his sonship. He knows himself as a son. He is conscious of a need which only a father's love, friendship and guidance can satisfy. That need is recognized which the father had been creating since his boy was a baby in his mother's arms—that in him his boy is to find a father, an elder brother and his best friend. And the boy has in the fact of his sonship the ground of his righteousness. Because he is a son he knows it is his duty to be brave, manly, generous, kind and loving. And his sonship furnishes the motive of his conduct. It is the knowledge of his sonship that makes the life of a boy a healthy, joyous life in relations with hi

parents. And this knowledge deepens only as he enters more and more deeply into his relations with those who call his love into being by their love.

The child grows into the man and becomes conscious of a deeper need than that which human relationships can meet. He has a yearning for living relations with his Eternal Father. That need is recognized which his Father has been creating through family relationships from the day of the child's birth. As now he enters more and more deeply into relations with God he grows into the knowledge of himself as son of God. His moral nature sees God present in righteousness. In humility and in reverence his emotional nature deepens its sense of God. And his intellectual apprehension of his Father grows as he tries to read his Father's thoughts as he finds them written in Nature, in human history and in his own soul. Into this relationship all the duties of boyhood are taken up and transcended. Veneration for his parents becomes adoration for his God. Obedience to their will becomes sanctification to God's will. This relationship is the ground upon which he now builds his character as a man. The knowledge of his sonship grows and deepens until in God he finds his Father and his Friend. In the fact of his divine sonship he finds the mainspring of his life as a man. That purpose is accomplished which God ordained when He sent him into the world.

This conception of divine sonship, if truly understood, includes the true idea of son of man or brotherhood. Righteousness springs from human relationships. We become righteous, as we become persons, only as we enter into relations with persons. This is true in the family where the child is made trustworthy and loving by being trusted and loved. And the man grows as he enters into relations with men who are greater than himself, or seeks to give himself to men who are weaker than himself. He must

receive in order that he may give; he must give in order that he may receive. We must die to selfishness and live to love if we are to find the life of men. Thus by treating men as brothers, by living for them, we know what is in man and so know ourselves. Through the family and through our brother men God leads us to recognize our sonship; by knowing ourselves as sons of man we know ourselves as sons of God. Into the relations as sons of God all our duties and privileges as sons of man are taken up. Through our lives as sons of man we express our lives as sons of God. Christianity, it has been said, is unlike other religions and systems of ethics in that it needs God and at least two men. And this is true because only by being a brother can a man know himself as a son of God. 'He who says he loves God and hates his brother, is a liar.' No man can know God through intellectualistic speculation about him, nor through emotionalism. The supreme fact of divine sonship is character. And three-fourths of character is righteousness. In so far as reason and feeling go to make character they serve to interpret sonship to man. Character is built up through relations of man with man, and so is included in the thought of the sonship of God which takes up into itself all human relationships and glorifies them.

The truth expressed in this conception of sonship and of brotherhood is comprehended in the conception of humanity as the family of God, whose home is this earth. In the family relation, the son reaches his fullest development. Perfect obedience to the father's will brings to the son the fullest expression of himself. In that relationship of love the son finds peace, joy, strength and inspiration. He knows himself as taken up into his father's life. And as he becomes obedient to his Eternal Father's will he finds his perfect development. To know God is life eternal for man because his life is taken up into the Eternal's life. To

sanctify one's self is to enter into that relationship with God in which man shall know himself as son. And this sanctification is not for the sake of that relationship; it is for the sake of God's children. All that a man has in mental, in moral, in emotional, and in material possessions, and all that he receives through consecrating these to his Father, must be held as a trust in the name of God's family. Nothing that we have is our own. All possessions belong to Him who gave them to us, and to His family for whom He gave them. To call anything our own is to deny God and God's family. To use anything for our selfish interests in this world or in the world to come is to refuse to be a son of man and a son of God. And this is true because we are members of the family of our Heavenly Father, to whom the earth and all that man does upon it belongs.

The home of God's family is the earth. Out of the earth He made us and upon the earth He is working out His purpose through us. We have feared the earth and denied our home. We have neglected our bodies and sought to save our souls from them. But it was because we did not know the earth and ourselves. Now that we are beginning to know our home and to understand the magnificent sweep of God's laws which govern it; now that our medical science is teaching us the nature of ourselves fear is giving way to admiration. We can now begin to appreciate the beauty of our home and find peace and joy in studying our Father's works in the sea, in the mountains, and in the unfolding of his purpose in history. And therefore we are ransacking all its unknown corners, and bringing its hidden treasures to the light. With our ocean cables and steamships we are binding its hemispheres and continents together. With our railroads and telegraph countries and peoples and languages are being brought into a noble unity. And therefore, also, we are developing our bodies and fitting them to be perfect instruments for the expression of our souls. With knowledge

of ourselves and of nature we know that the earth is the home in which God's family is to live, and we rejoice in the knowledge.

The earth is our Father's home as well as ours. It is here that he has become Incarnate, and revealed Himself to His children as the God of love. Here He is living and working through all things toward the triumphant purpose for which He called force into existence, created life, gave self-consciousness and freedom of choice to man, and for which, as the final act of His creative Love, revealed Himself in the person of His human-divine Son. We may call Him the "Unknowable," the "Power of Evolution," the "Absolute," the "Power not ourselves that works for righteousness," or the "Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Whatever we name Him He is the Eternal, all Holy, whose home is the earth, which He shares with His children.

God's purpose is far from accomplished, either in individuals as sons of man and sons of God, or in humanity as his family. We have but to look into our own hearts to find how true the first statement is. We have but to look out upon our fellows to see the truth of the second statement. There are men who have almost totally denied their sonship and brotherhood. These are our criminals, and they form our social problem of penology. There are men who have fallen by the wayside, destitute and incapable, and they make our problem of pauperism. Others are ignorant; they live in total ignorance of sanitary laws, they vote in ignorance of political measures, they act toward their fellows as if they were so many things put there by Fate for their advantage. They form our problem of education. And a great problem it is, for the representatives of this class are found on University faculties, in our "intellectual centers,"

among the rich and among the poor, in the church as well as out of it. Another social problem,—that of municipal misgovernment,—shows how far from realization is the brotherhood of man in his political life. If we look to the industrial life of God's family we see trusts, shutouts, labor organized against capital, and hear cries of injustice which show only too clearly that the industrial life of the family is divided against itself. And so we have a social problem of industry. If now we look at the so-called "religious" life of God's family as it expresses itself in ecclesiastical organizations we see discord, wrangling over forms of Church government, disunion, individualism rampant, men persuading themselves that they have "unity of the Spirit," and crying "peace, peace, when there is no peace." This condition makes the social problem of Church unity. All these problems,—of politics, of industry, of charity, of education, of Church unity,—have for their solution the true expression of the many-sided life of the family of God. The "far off divine event" will be reached when humanity shall know itself as the family of its Heavenly Father.

The duty of every member of this family is therefore plain: he is to live as son and brother. Our usual range of brotherhood is too narrow. In order to be true sons of man, true sons of God, or true brothers, we must identify ourselves and all that we have with all God's children. While injustice, misery and sin exist in this world, no man can be a true son of God unless he dies absolutely to himself and lives to God, and for God's family. We must take upon ourselves the weight of the world's sin and wrong, or else we are not true sons of God, or true followers of the Master.

Christian men have felt this in their history, and have tried to respond to it in different ways. Like the Pharisees who lowered the law that they might be able to keep it, the monks narrowed brotherhood and restricted divine sonship

in order to be able to live as sons and brothers. Many Protestant communions have emphasized the idea of sonship and overlooked its necessary element of brotherhood. The salvation of the individual soul beyond the skies, and the emotional sentiment of individual sonship here have been the all-important thoughts to them. Nature, history, the problem of the intellect and God's purpose in this world had for them little or no interest. But neither the monastic nor the Protestant conception of sonship or of true brotherhood is true. At the dawn of this social era we are beginning to understand Christ as the Son of Man. The study of Him as Son of Man, that is as brother of men, gives to us the true conception of brotherhood and sonship. He identified himself absolutely with the world's sin and wrong. "He was made sin for us." And to be a true brother and son we are to go and do likewise. And that is the supreme duty of every man in relation to these social problems, because to fulfill that duty is to realize God's purpose for the individual; that is to sanctify ourselves for the sake of our brethren.

But how is this sanctified life to express itself? Shall we go about doing good, having no property, no home, no nation, living a "universal life?" Cosmopolitanism is as false as individualism. By grasping the idea of individuality we shall find a light by which to direct our steps. God breaks the mould when He makes each man. Each individual is different from every other individual. His individuality is never to be destroyed either in this life or in the next life. It is the eternal thing about us. We are not to be all alike here or in Heaven. Therefore by developing our individuality we are doing our Father's will. To be a true individual is to be a true brother, a true son, a true citizen, a true patriot. Every true brother and son knows that the life of his family is made sweet and beautiful only in so far as each member is loving and does well his allotted task, trusting to

the others to do their allotted tasks. Individualism results when one member tries to do the tasks of other members, as much as when he refuses to do his own task. And likewise in the great family of God each member is working for the family by doing his own work and trusting to all other men to do their own work. The lawyer is identifying himself with the life of humanity if he is true to the highest and noblest ideals of his profession. And the same is true of the bricklayer. To be a true son of God as a laborer is as high service in God's sight, as true sanctification for the sake of God's children, as the service of the so-called minister. We are to make *our* calling and election sure. Each individual has his own task to perform, his own life to live, in this world, and by doing this task and living this life nobly the purpose of God is furthered toward complete fulfillment.

True individuality is taught by the life of Jesus. His was no "universal" life. To the fulfillment of one purpose He confined His labors. He chose the Twelve and gave Himself to training them in the principles of His Kingdom. "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," He said on one occasion when He was tempted to turn aside from his single purpose. And because of the narrowness of His work the task accomplished was universal. He was a patriot; there lived no patriot more true. And yet He never failed to treat every man as a man. Beneath the outward covering of Publican, of Jewish leader, of sinner, or of Samaritan, He saw the man, and appealed to that. By following the example of Jesus, by being true to our own calling and by treating every man as an individual, we sanctify ourselves for the family of God.

In relation to the social problems how can a man be a true brother and a true son if sonship requires him to identify himself with all his father's children in their sorrow, ignorance, poverty, trials and crimes? How may his sanc-

tified life express itself? One answer is clear and true: He is to see the man in his brother and act toward him as a man, and not as toward an "object" of charity, an industrial "hand" or criminal to be punished. And the second duty is also plain: He is to do his own work well. We cannot all study social problems. To other men we must entrust that duty. Some men must be specialists in social questions. Their specialty is a trust given them by man and by God. It is our duty to know as much about the results of their labors as possible. Such knowledge is needed for us to treat a man as a man. Because every man is an individual he must be treated in the light of his own needs, of his own individuality. The specialists in social problems supply the knowledge of that need. Our duty is to know one thing well, and as much of the work of other men as possible. This is the sum and substance of every man's duty in relation to the social problems: to treat every man as a man in the light of the best knowledge of that man's need.

When now we ask, What is the duty of the man who is a Christian minister in his relation to social problems? the answer is: He is first of all to stand for the noblest ideals of his special calling, and then to know as much as possible about the work of the specialists engaged in the study of these problems, and with the best knowledge of the need of every man to treat him as a son of man and as a son of God.

The minister is a man called by God to declare God's truths to men. The main truths in this message are the divine fatherhood, sonship and brotherhood, and Christ the Power of God. The infinite meaning wrapt up in these conceptions the minister is to ponder over, live in, and then bring home to men. He is to make men know themselves as sons of men and sons of God in Christ. He must make men conscious of the truth about themselves—the truth

which sets them free from sin and gives to them the "glorious liberty of the children of God." By his words he is to bring these words into the lives of his people and to make them the great mainspring of their activity. By his own life, sanctified for his people's sake, he is to create the personal influence of which when a man is born he enters the Kingdom of God. And he is to bring man to the consciousness of that personal influence of which his influence is but a faint breeze on a summer's day. He is to make his people know Jesus Christ to be their Way, their Truth, their Life, the Power of God, the "Righteousness of God" unto them.

It is by confining himself rigidly to this task that the minister is doing his duty in relation to the great total of human welfare. To the minister is given the trust to stand for the great basal facts of existence—the facts upon which the solution of all our problems hangs. For, as Mr. Justice Stephens truly says,* "The whole management and direction of human life depends upon the question whether or not there is a God and a further state of human existence." And Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" emphasized the same truth, though conceiving of the function of religion in society in a way which if true would destroy its power to inspire and uplift. And other writers have emphasized the same truth. If men are but "bubbles on the sea of matter," or, as Mr. Huxley would have us believe, the "cunningest of nature's clocks," we too would despair of humanity and wish with him for a kindly comet to wipe the whole miserable affair away. If there is no God, no future life, and no "far off divine event," social problems would interest no thoughtful men. For deep thought, as some one has said, is generally pessimistic, and pessimism inspires no courage to undertake and carry through great social prob-

* Quoted by McKechnie, "The State and the Individual." p. 94.

lems. True men would still work for their brethren who are suffering injustice and distress, but they could not but feel that, as men grew to know the truth about the world and about themselves, they would lose the power to be of greatest social service. What this condition is Romanes has expressed in those earnest words: "I cannot but feel that with this virtual denial of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. When at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hal-lowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as I now find it, at such times I shall ever feel the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible. I cannot but think that for me and for others who think as I do there is a dreadful truth in those words of Hamilton: Philosophy having become a meditation not merely of death but of annihilation, the precept 'know thyself' has become transformed into the terrific oracle of Œdipus, 'Mayest thou ne'er know the truth of what thou art.'"* But here in America we men believe in God as seen in the face of Jesus Christ and in the sanctified lives of our fellow men, and look forward to the time when this belief shall be a vital power in all men.

In the multiplicity of human interests men are continually losing sight of the deepest facts in human nature—the fact of the divine Fatherhood and sonhood—and so cut themselves off from the eternal fountain of their noblest aspiration and most devoted service. To the minister is given the trust of standing for the truth and making men conscious of that truth. In the candles of the Lord men will be attracted by a light, and will be led from light to light up to Him who is the Light of Light, in whom they too shall see light. At this time especially when men are so often treated in a

* Quoted by W. R. Benedict, "Theism and Evolution," in Andover Review, 1886.

lump, by employers in the field of industry, by sociologists in the study of society, and by politicians in "practical" politics, we need men who know what is in man and who will make other men conscious that they are not wheels in any industrial machine, nor cells in any social organism, nor creatures of a political boss. It is by concentrating all his powers to interpreting man in the light of the stature of Jesus Christ that the minister is doing his greatest duty in relation to our social problems.

By standing for manhood, as it is in the light of its eternal relation to the Eternal Father, the man who is a minister is bringing to bear upon the social problems the power which will solve them. Before the magnitude of these social problems men stand appalled. What we need is inspiration to do and to dare. Something more than selfish motives of better wages and of leisure, more than the motive of the sense of injustice are needed if we are to succeed. The power that will send us into the blackest slum and keep us there, which will lead us to sanctify ourselves for the sake of humanity in our special calling, whatever it may be, is the knoweledge that Almighty God is working out with us the salvation of his children. God is on the side of these social problems, and one man with God shall chase a thousand and two men with God shall chase ten thousand of these social evils to their own place. The minister is to inspire them to work for social betterment by bringing them to a realization of their manhood as it is in Jesus, and in Him who is through all things. Jesus is the power of God for the fulfillment of God's purpose in history. By loving Him we are made social reformers, prophets of God, citizens, husbands, sons, and so true members of God's great family. The Kingdom is here now and is yet ever becoming. It is within us as a reality to be expressed without us as a fact in society in the centuries to come. To bring the Kingdom to each man is to make him work to

solve our social problems. This is the task of the man who is a minister, a trust which man gives to him as well as God. And to it he must rigidly limit himself. A lower good must be sacrificed to a higher good. His special problem is not charity, nor labor, nor education in literature or in science. It is to know the meaning of sonship and of brotherhood and the Power who will help to make a man a son of man and a son of God. It is, as it were, Humanity marching through a forest in the darkness. Each man is to break his own path. The minister is the man who holds a light which will be a guide to all his fellow-travellers. His duty is to go straight through the center. Men on either side can use the light as a guide by which to direct their steps. His office is a trust given to him by his fellows. If he allows that light to burn low because he turns aside to help this or that man break his path, how great will be the confusion in that marching brotherhood, and how great will be the darkness! Great self-restraint is required of him for his is a nature which feels deeply the need of men. But the stream is only deep and strong where its channel is narrow. By knowing his one thing well, and as much about the social problems as possible and then treating every man as a man, the duty of the man who is a minister, so far as his life and teachings are concerned, is done.

The minister is however not only a man and a teacher. There is an organization through which he works as a teacher. He is an officer of a social institution which is an important factor in the life of humanity. And as an officer of this organization he has a great duty in relation to the social problems which concerns the entire life of the human family.

The social problem is the problem of the means by which

the life of God's family may be fully expressed on this earth. It is therefore concerned with the individual and with the social organism. There are two great facts which we must keep clearly in view as we study the methods and the organizations proposed to attain this object. These are the two facts which men are continually forgetting, and which, as history proves, cannot be forgotten without vicious results. Present theories of social reconstruction almost without exception emphasize one to the detriment of the other. How the two may be preserved in mutual relationship is the essence of the social problem. These two eternal facts are individual freedom and social unity. To attain perfect individual freedom by means of some bond of social unity is the great problem before humanity in its historical development. To attain individuality as opposed to individualism, to attain social unity as opposed to uniformity in politics, in industry, and in the Church, constitutes the social problem. A false universal and a false particular ought to be avoided; the universal is to be found through the particular, and the particular in the universal. Freedom and unity, these are the two great facts which men will be tempted to overlook in the future as they have overlooked them in the great revolutions of Church and of State in the past. We are revolting from two centuries of individualism, and our tendency is to swing towards some extreme form of socialism. But we shall avoid the evils of a false socialism by keeping clearly in mind the two great fundamental truths of human life and history—individual freedom and social unity.

There is only one field of human interest where these two truths are expressed through an organization. This is the field of our national political life. Our Republic secures to every individual and to its component states political unity. The principle of federalism, used as an experiment for seventy years, was demonstrated by the Civil War to be the true solution of our great political problem. We stand to-

day one people united firmly to the support of one magnificent principle. Our national government is an organization powerful to withstand all foes from without and within, effective to carry on the duties of government. It secures a working unity of powerful states and of many peoples, and at the same time gives to each of its citizens perfect political freedom. The political problem which men have been fighting to solve from that early day at the dawn of civilization when one man united with his fellows for mutual defence and support has been solved. The human family in its national unit has attained its purpose. The principle which has succeeded in expressing this family life is the principle of federalism. By substituting this noble theory for theories of states rights, of empires, of kingdoms, of confederations, we have gained for the life of the human family the opportunity to reach its highest self-expression in politics.

In all other fields of our national life there is disunion. In industry there is little individual freedom and little social unity. The cry which comes from the workingmen is growing in volume every day. And the cry is for leisure and for the means by which they may become men indeed. The law of competition has been at work, and what are its results? Among workingmen it acts as the iron law of wages which reduces the pay for their labor to the means of bare subsistence. Among capitalists it reduces interest lower and lower, and so curtails their means of self-development and of social service. It prolongs hours of labor into the night, decreases our rest to a minimum and destroys our opportunity to be of social service in politics, in charity relief, in the visitation of the sick and of those in prison. Our days are so absorbed in making a living that we find little time to make life. We have little or no industrial freedom. Labor organized against capital and capital against labor show that we have little social unity. Society is at war with itself in the field of industry.

So we have before us the industrial problem which has for its object the attainment of industrial freedom and industrial unity. It is perhaps the greatest problem which mankind has yet had to solve. To substitute the law of co-operation for the law of competition, and to secure to every individual industrial freedom at the same time that it secures to our national life industrial unity is a task which is stupendous. But it is the task for the centuries to solve. In our day the phase of this problem which confronts us is the problem of labor. The problem of education, of charity, of penology, are vitally connected with it. For when men have the means of livelihood and the time to make of themselves true men, the paupers and criminals will be very few in number. Before such a problem with its multiplicity of interests and far-reaching connections, we may well stand and pray, as Plato prayed before the problem of intellectual truth, for some God or God-inspired man to direct our efforts. There is no royal road to triumph. We must go forward resolutely, expecting many a false turn, many a mistake, but with our eyes fixed upon the two great truths of individual freedom and of social unity.

When we look to the ecclesiastical life of God's family, the conditions which confront us show how little has that life attained freedom and unity. The ecclesiastical life of men is divided into a host of hostile camps. Each camp has its banners of theories about doctrine and government, which it plants wherever a rival has planted its banner. The law of competition is in force among denominations also, and is working great economic and social evils. The missionary work of every denomination is handicapped because of lack of funds. There is great waste of men and money in towns supplied with six churches where two alone are needed. Ministers consequently are paid poor salaries and the burden of expenses falls heavily on their people. And the social evils are greater still. Churches are small and

weak, and so make religion unattractive to men outside of the churches. Society is divided by teaching which aims to make clear wherein it differs from rival denominations, rather than what it holds in common with its rivals. Thus the great message of the Christ to men has been relegated to the back ground while denominational theories of that message have been given the pre-eminence. Instead of character, righteousness, true religion speculation has been taught. Among the rich churches are numerous and beautiful; their congregations are well supplied with all that goes to make divine worship a joyous and inspiring service. While among the poor, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, almost universally the churches are small, ugly, with nothing that educates or affects man's æsthetic nature in music or in art. Their ministers are generally young men who come and go, who do not understand the needs of their people and who are unable to supply their social wants. And many thousands in our great cities are without the administration of the Church. In an age of individualism many of these churches grew up. They have done a noble work in revealing the manifoldness of the human spirit when touched by the divine, and stand to-day for great psychological characteristics of religion. The tremendous emphasis which they have laid on the salvation of the individual soul has done a work which man will not soon forget. It was a freedom carried to excess; but a freedom the essential truth of which is to be taken up into the true conception of unity. This problem is a social problem which is now to be solved. The problem of municipal government to be sure remains unsolved. But this is because the ablest men of the past generation in America have been absorbed in building our great railroads and developing our industries and making our machinery. But now there is growing up in many of our cities a class of young men who have for their ideal the regeneration of civic political life. The bosses and other

second-rate Americans into whose hands our fathers temporarily let the reins of government fall will be put to rout, and municipal government will be conducted on economic and righteous lines. With the solution of the municipal problem and with the perfecting of the civil service rules in national politics, and with the solution of the ecclesiastical problem, we will be prepared to undertake in earnest our industrial problem.

The solution of this ecclesiastical problem must precede the solution of the industrial problem and prepare for it. The great need of to-day is for sympathy between rich and poor. Class feeling is growing in America. Workingmen are uniting as a class against capitalists, and are meeting with the sympathy of multitudes. The workingmen, though concentrating their attention at present on the eight-hour law, have other objects to put forward as soon as this purpose is accomplished. The last convention of the American Confederation of Labor advocated governmental ownership of telegraphs, the establishment of mills for the manufacture of armor plate, municipal ownership of all public utilities and public monopolies. And some political parties go far beyond these demands. With the power to express convictions on economic and social problems at the polls the time is not far distant when this class feeling of hostility against capital will express itself in governmental action. If this takes place in the spirit of revolutionary frenzy the very basis of our national prosperity may be destroyed for a time, and the greatest social evils result. The only means of averting the horror of industrial revolution are the education of popular intelligence and the creation of sympathy between the classes. Men must be made to know and feel that their interests are all one, that the good of the nation means the unity of the entire nation and the freedom of every individual. And all must be made to work sympathetically and intelligently for this object.

What is the organization in society which can create this sympathy and this intelligence? The public school gives but the elements of an education and does not prepare a man for the higher duties of citizenship. The daily press has it in its power to teach public duties and to create sympathy. But competition is at work among the papers, and they are forced for economic reasons to appeal to partisanship. A few of our weekly papers and many of our monthly magazines are working to create a pure and intelligent public opinion on these great issues of industry and of politics. But they reach only one of the classes which need guidance and enlightenment. The social settlements alone are doing the work where it is greatly needed. But as they do not have behind them the power of religion in an active sense their efficiency is limited, and they are too few as compared with the great need. The Church is the organization which can do this work when once it shakes itself free from the evils which now cramp its activity and understands itself as a means of God for working out His purpose in the world. There is in the slums of one of our great cities a church which has among its members workingmen and capitalists. On every Sunday morning, men from the slums and from the suburbs here gather before the common altar to worship the one Father and to listen to the Christian message of sonship and of brotherhood. The chasm between rich and poor still exists; but it is bridged by sympathy. Each class in that congregation is learning the needs and the problems of the other class. When those men are called upon to act or to vote on social problems they will act with knowledge and with sympathy.

Few cities possess such churches. Denominational aggrandizement and competition prevent many such churches from being built and supported. A minister in the suburbs, for example, cannot encourage his people to go to the slums because his own congregation would be weakened

and so suffer from competition with its neighbors. Such churches in the slums return no revenue to denominational treasuries and require to be supported from the outside. Denominations are subject to competition and must be run on "business principles." And so we have *churches* among the well-to-do. They stand on principal thoroughfares and are magnificent and beautiful. Among the shabby dwellings and the tenements we find their *missions*. They are ugly little buildings and suggest nothing but psalm-singing in the world to come. There are no angels in the windows through whom God can send His light and inspire His children to love the beautiful and the pure. They have no lofty steeples which lead the thought of men upwards from the earth. The music in them suggests no chanting of the Cherubim and Seraphim, full of inspiration and of joy, which redeems men by carrying their thoughts and aspirations up before the throne of God. Their preacher's words are like the buildings, built according to denominational specification and well intended, but having little power to influence men.

What the poor districts of our cities need, and what Christian men will supply when they recognize the need, are institutional churches in every ward. Some organization is demanded which will be the center of all social activity. Here shall meet the societies and clubs which have for their object the betterment of men. Labor unions can meet there. Employers can there meet their employees; and each grow to know the other's point of view. And on the Sabbath morning the people can and will gladly gather in such a place of worship to express their gratitude and to receive inspiration for the needs of life. There they will hear the Gospel message which shall be good tidings indeed. Through such a church the minister can proclaim sonship and Fatherhood, and inspire men to sanctify themselves for their fellows. There throughout the week will be created

sympathy between the rich and poor and intelligence on public questions.

If such churches alone can create what we need most deeply to-day, why do we not have more of them? Because of the economic waste of men and money caused by Christian disunion. The evils of our present state are manifest. The great need which Church unity alone can supply is urgent.

What then shall we say is the duty of a man who is a Christian minister? We have said that he is doing his duty in his relation to the social problems by being truly a specialist. He is to limit himself rigidly to making man know the truth of their sonship and of the divine Fatherhood. Now the means of fulfilling this duty is largely the Christian Church. Through the Church He speaks His message and through its sacraments and services His people learn to make that message a reality in their lives. The Church is a social organization through which men hear the truth and through which they grow into the stature of sons of God. The Church is not fulfilling this function to-day, for in many places it belongs to those who support it. The ministers are often private chaplains to a few rich men. The message of sonship is not brought home to all men. The problem of Church unity is therefore a special part of the minister's own calling. In fulfilling this part it is clear he is doing one of his greatest duties in relation to the social problem. The duty of men who are Christian ministers in America in this era of the social movement is to perfect the organization through which the ecclesiastical life of God's family expresses itself in order that it may secure individual and denominational freedom, and at the same time secure that unity which will make it efficient to supply our great social demand for sympathy between the classes and for intelligence on our political and industrial problems. The minister is to work to make the Church an organization

through which all men may grow into the knowledge of themselves as sons of man and sons of the Eternal Father. In this way the Church will be made a means of creating that sympathy and intelligence with which we may solve our social problems of industry by evolution, and so avoid the horrors of revolution.

Ministers must know the social needs of our great cities and open their eyes to their duty in meeting these needs. They hold an important function in the creation of public opinion in America. They have the power to make Christian men recognize the evils which the Church has to cure. They have the power to urge upon men their social responsibilities. The old objections made against the ministers' preaching on politics have no weight when we distinguish between politics and partisanship. It is as much the minister's duty to preach the one as it is his duty to avoid the other. When now ministers recognize this duty the pulpit will regain part of the great influence which it wielded in the life of other generations. As ministers study social problems and understand the needs which the Church alone can meet they will make use of the power of the pulpit which they surrendered at the Civil War. Our social needs are leading us to understand more clearly the meaning of the Christ and of His message. We go back to him and ask for light. The light He gives is the true meaning of sonship and of brotherhood. In the conception of the Kingdom of God as He taught it we find the truth for which men long to-day. By understanding their New Testament more deeply and making Christ's conception of the Kingdom the controlling idea in their thought and in their activity Christian ministers will be doing their duty in relation to the social problems.

Ministers have been preaching the divine sonship of Christ and individual salvation. They have looked upon their office as a trust from God. All that is true. But

these truths have been over-emphasized. Without their complements they are half-truths, and, like all half-truths, have brought harm as well as good. W. K. Clifford, in one of his noble essays, says: "Wherever the allegiance of men has been diverted from Man to some divinity who speaks to man for his own sake, and seeks his own glory, one thing happened. The right precepts might be enforced, but they were enforced upon wrong grounds, and they were not obeyed." And he goes on to say "The dim and shadowy outlines of the superhuman Deity fade slowly away from before us; and as the mist of His presence floats aside we perceive with greater and greater clearness the shape of a yet grander and nobler figure—of Him who made all gods and shall unmake them. From the dim dawn of history and from the inmost depth of every soul the face of our father Man looks out upon us with the fire of eternal youth in his eyes, and says: 'Before Jehovah was, I am!'" This, too, is but a half-truth. What we want to know is Christ the Son of man as well as Son of God, and then individual salvation beyond as the result of individual salvation here. When the ministers preach Christ the son of man and the son of God, and recognize their office as a trust given to them by man as well as by God, they will give to man the inspiration to dare to undertake and the power to solve those problems the solution of which is the expression of the life of the family of God in industry, in politics, and in the Church. The "far-off divine event" shall then be less far away because the road which leads toward it shall be known.

"DEO DUCE."

The writer desires to add that whatever is true in this essay he owes to his teachers; whatever may be proved untrue, he owes to his own misapprehension of their teaching.

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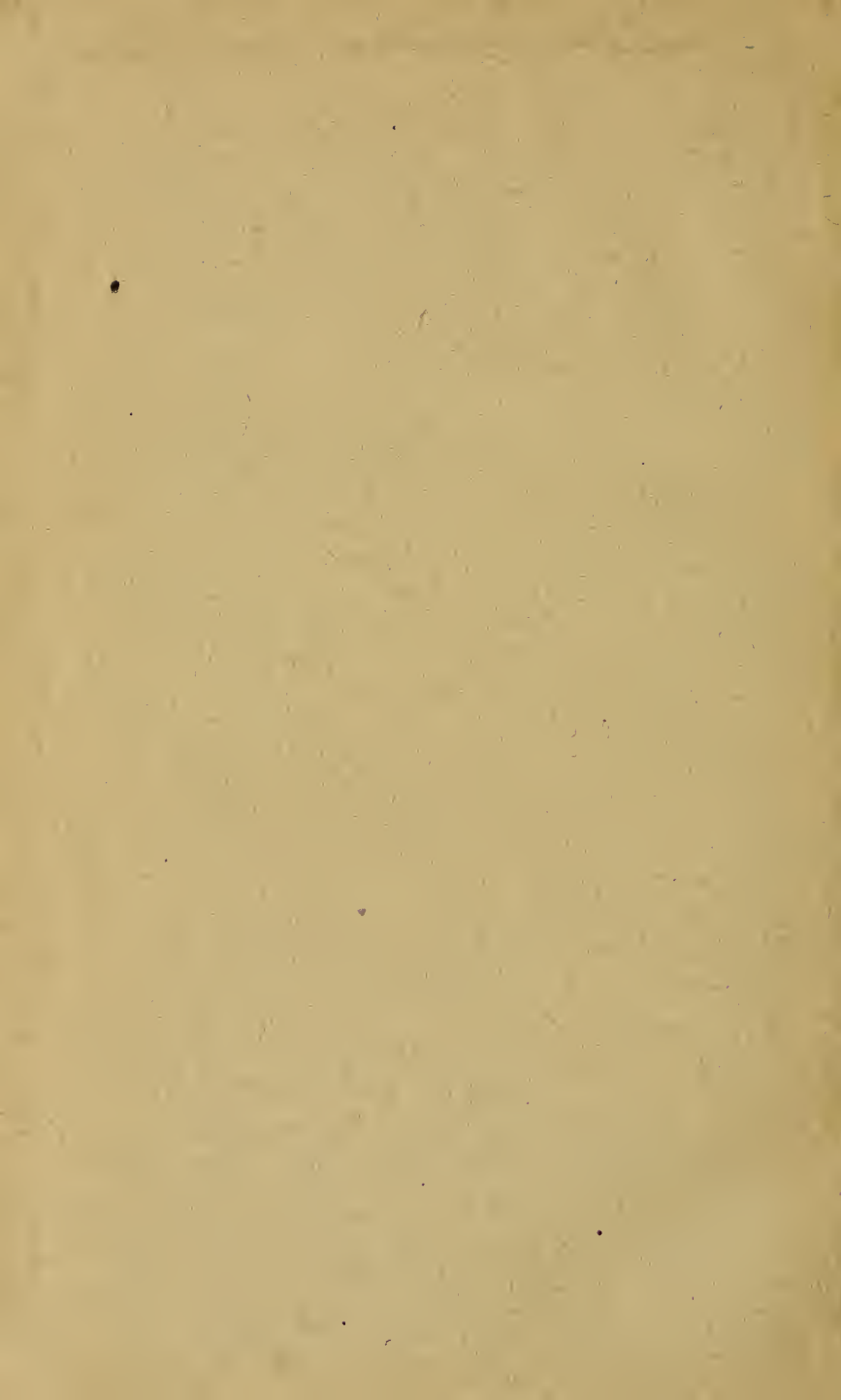
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